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I know that the English intelligentsia have plenty of reason for their timidity and dishonesty, indeed I know by heart the arguments by which they justify themselves. But at least let us have no more nonsense about defending liberty against Fascism. If liberty means anything at all it means the right to tell people what they do not want to hear. The common people still vaguely subscribe to that doctrine and act on it. In our country—it is not the same in all countries: It was not so in Republican

© 1972 by Sonia Brownell Orwell.

# written

Gollancz, to whom Orwell was still under contract, was the first to reject it, probably to the relief of Orwell, who obviously neither expected nor wanted him to publish it, remembering his rejection of *Homage to Catalonia*. "I must tell you that it is— I think—completely unacceptable politically from your point of view. (It is anti-Stalin)." Orwell wrote to Gollancz—or so Gollancz indignantly quotes his tactful secretary back to him (Orwell's letter is lost in an unpublished letter of March 23, 1944, and goes on to refute the allegation and to ask to see the manuscript. He did not merely reject it, however, but possibly—several of Orwell's friends firmly believed—sounded a general alarm among other likely publishers that the intemperate Orwell was speaking out of turn again, failing to understand that truth is relative to circumstances, and generally endangering British-Soviet relations. This may be exaggerated

**BY BERNARD CRICK**

Gollancz, to whom Orwell was still under contract, was the first to reject

Orwell had certainly enjoyed his trouble. He began writing the book in November, 1943, immediately after resigning from the BBC. On February 27, 1944, he wrote to Professor George Bernard Shaw, who was at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London: "I am writing a little squib which might amuse you when it comes out, but is not so O.P. politically that I don't feel certain in advance that anyone will publish it. Perhaps that gives you a hint of the subject." (*CE*, III, 95-96). He had been hostile to the Soviet Government over Spain and with Cienfuegos over both *The Road to Wigan Pier* and *Homage to Catalonia*. Indeed, the following month he had a review of

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### Oxford University Press



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**The London Weavers' Company 1600-1970**  
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Miss Hill has tried hard, without too obviously avoiding the odd few

Now, and then, looking up from his wedges, he could see one or both of the Newby boys superbly mounted, depicting in long crusts of light through the air.

Macmillan have just published three-decker containing the whole of C. P. Snow's "Strangers and Brothers" sequence. The first volume consists of *Time of Hope*, *George Pasternak*, *The Conscience of the Rich* at *The Light and the Dark* (1971) (pp. 1033pp); the second, *The Masters*, *The New Men*, *Homecomings* and *The Affair* (1035pp); the third, *Corridors of Power*, *The Sleep of Reason* and *Large Things* (1920pp). Each volume costs £4.50, and each novel is given complete and unabridged.







# Master manqué

**Compiled by Chris Searle**  
A selection from the hundreds of children's poems which flowed in to Chris Searle after the publication of *Stepney Words*. Paper 50p, cloth £1.50

Professor Posner's contrast, in this paper, between Haring and

No student of the early history of modern architecture, who wants illumination as well as facts, should fail to read *From Schinkel to the Bauhaus*. It leaves one with the hope that the full-scale history, which Professor Pogner is better qualified than anyone to write will one day be forthcoming.

great deal has to be left out of the sizable figures found no merit in his ego. Hodler, Lehmbruck, Laurens and Beckmann. It contains 207 illustrations which Duchamp's friends Descending a Staircase upside down on Plate III.

The turning-point came in 1957 with his essay, "The White Negro". From then on his whole literary career was in a state of fiction. The third was "Of the process" as it integrates the future, concerned him—every occasional piece, fiction and non-fiction, becoming part of that comprehensive work-in-progress. (A more traditionally projected Zolazque series in eight volumes was abandoned.) The principal creation was a language capable of channelling such a vast conflict of forces: its aim, to constitute the New Testament of one Norman Mailer, American of the Messianic ambition, "created" evolution in the consciousness of our time.

This new Messiah, in fact, became increasingly identified with a sexual attitude: sex "was a metaphor for

themes Mr Poirier is himself a brilliant. If somewhat repetitious, guide. But so many ambiguous notes are sounded so many Mullerian tendencies and contradictions are incorporated into the very critique of the author—that as evaluation this cannot be final. A finer, and possibly far humbler, path will have to be traced between contemporary enigma and ribald dismissal. The market analyst assesses the literary dividends to date as follows:

*Why we Wc in Vietnam?* and *The Amies of the Night*, along with parts of *Advertisements for Myself* and *Am American Dream* put Muller easily in the category. It seems to me, of Fitzgerald and Hemingway, conceivably of Faulkner.

That, for the time being, must stand as the bizarre challenge.

**THAMES AND HUDSON**

Illustrated

to these pieces the same

opening presidential address under the heading "André Gide ou l'expérience de soi" stands out among

nearest approach to a unifying theme, there can be detected a fear on the part of several contributors: the human subject of their discourses should no longer be con-

opening presidential address under the heading "André Gide ou l'expérience de soi" stands out among

Underlying the volume as a whole, however, and forming its nearest approach to a unifying theme, there can be detected a fear on the part of several contributors: the human subject of these discourses should no longer be con-

considered relevant to the age in which we live—a fear which their own inquiries do much to belie and which may appear ridiculous when the attempt to circumscribe the matter is finally replaced by respect for his literary achievements. Meanwhile twenty years after his death, Gide's passage into history and the literary hierarchy is still proving troublesome some within his own country to an extent he would probably have regarded as his due.















"Every age needs its own view of history," Geoffrey Barraclough wrote in *History in a Changing World*. The question is, how long and how frequent is an age? Turning-points in history used to be fairly rare, but in the past two centuries they have multiplied and accelerated, like everything else. The American War of Independence was a turning-point; so was the French Revolution; so was the defeat of Napoleon; and even in 1821 the world's great age began anew, as we know from Shelley. It began again in 1848, according to Karl Marx; and it took all the powerful determination of Queen Victoria to prevent any more turning-points in her lifetime. In the present century there can be no question that an age ended in 1914, and yet another began in 1945. The latter was the one signalled by Professor Barraclough when he said that the time had come for "a new attitude to history and a reconsideration of all the assumptions we have made about history." With this view Paul Johnson, a brilliant journalist and no mean scholar, would certainly agree; but it looks as if he wants yet another turning-point in 1972.

It is perhaps common ground today that there is no such thing as objective history (except for Marxists). Those who believe the contrary, like Arnold Toynbee, are really only asking us to accept their private subjectivity as objective. All history has a context and a point of view, however carefully conceded. Mr Johnson makes no bones about it. His context is explicit in the subtitle: "From Roman Occupation to European Entry". This is the history of relations between the British Isles and the continent of Europe. It is tantalizing as well as brilliant, because it is only towards the end that he reveals how strongly anti-European he is himself. He starts with the uncommitted purpose of making "a worthwhile comment on the present predicament of the English," exploring their history, relating past and present, projecting the future. But his commitment gradually becomes plain: he is an elitist, a socialist, a Catholic, an intellectual, and a nationalist. Not since Wells and Chesterton, both of whom are to be included in his literary ancestry, has an amateur historian written so perceptively of his country: though, alas, also inconclusively.

*The Offshore Islanders* has a beautifully constructed dual theme, which may be compared to a system of cycles and epicycles. The main cycle describes the relationship of England and Europe, rotating between the diametrical extremes of total involvement and total divorce. Superimposed on its periphery is a series of internal revolutions, all of which have one characteristic in common: everyone taking part in

# The coming of the age of Pelagius

PAUL JOHNSON:  
*The Offshore Islanders*  
John. Weidenfeld and Nicolson  
£4.25.

them was trying not to move forward to something new, but to move backwards to an imaginary tradition. The millennium of English revolutionaries always lay in the past. It will be remembered that even Shelley, after proclaiming that the world's great age begins anew, added in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding: "The golden years return." So it was with Magna Carta, with the Peasants' Revolt, with the Reformation, with the Civil War, with the Great Reform Bill: all were attempts to restore the "perfect constitution" which the people had once enjoyed, but which Mr Johnson calls an "illogical sham". Even the scientific revolution which began in the sixteenth century had a similar purpose:

Bacon was Englishman enough to suppose that this triumph of man over nature would be a recovery of past felicity—the scientific revolution would not so much project mankind into the future, as abolish the consequences of the Fall, and restore to the children of Adam (who were, of course, essentially English) their lost birthright.

It will be noticed that Mr Johnson talks habitually of the English rather than the British. This is deliberate, for his nationalism is of narrow scope. Although he quotes with approval Professor Barraclough's *History in a Changing World*, with its plea for a new view of history, he rejects the assumption that it must be a universal rather than a national view. He is concerned neither with the whole world, like Professor Toynbee, nor with the English-speaking peoples, like Churchill. He regards the British Empire as a short-lived, ungainly aberration. His theme is "the peoples who have occupied the land we call England". Thus he is comparatively little interested in the Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish, who have remained distinct; but he includes the Danes and the Normans as well as the Anglo-Saxons, because they have been assimilated.

There is a no doubt intentional significance in the fact that the book includes two short appendices: "The Danes and the English" and "Cromwell and Ireland". The first establishes, *inter alia*, that Johnson is a name of Danish derivation; the second, that Cromwell's treatment of the Irish has been badly misrepresen-

ted. Cromwell is among Mr Johnson's favourite heroes. Most of the stories to his discredit are fictitious, it seems, and an entirely new view of him is to be substituted, depicting him as the founder of the scientific revolution and the life and soul of country-house parties.

Mr Johnson's history, as well as being Anglocentric, is also uncompromisingly black and white. There are good things and bad things, good kings and bad kings, almost as categorically distinguished as in *1066 and All That*, though of course identified by different criteria. On the whole the good are those that insulated England from Europe, and the bad those that involved them together, either in peace or war.

Good kings and queens include William I, Henry II, John, Edward IV, Henry VII and VIII, and Elizabeth I, the best of all. Good commoners are Cromwell and Milton. Brougham, Gladstone and Baldwin. Their merits are not of course identical, but all put England first. The bad include all the Stuarts and Queen Victoria, together with Becket, Walpole, Burke, Castlereagh, Wellington and Edward Grey (who has "the sombre distinction of having inflicted more damage on the English people than any other man in their history"). The errors of these men and women are again diverse, but in essence they lay in a failure to see that England's destiny was that defined by Shakespeare's basic English Bardard, Philip Faulconbridge:

Come the three corners of the world in any,  
And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rise,  
If England to itself do rest but true.

For Mr Johnson the argument is the same whether the three corners of the world come in arms, or bearing gifts like American dollars, papal supremacy, or European unity.

This thesis is worked out with

impressive learning and sophistication, which are not to be taken lightly merely because Mr Johnson carries them lightly himself. But inevitably such an uncompromising view of English history leads him into paradoxes. Running through the whole story is his conception of what he calls Anglicanism, which is one that could perhaps only be held by a patriotic Catholic. To Mr Johnson Anglicanism is not simply a branch of the Christian community. Indeed when he thinks of it as a Church, he seems particularly to dislike it, especially in the nineteenth century. Nor is it a heresy which came into being in the sixteenth century because of the matrimonial troubles of Henry VIII. There was already, according to Mr Johnson, an Anglican Church in existence, of which sovereigns before Henry VIII claimed in effect to be head (for example, Henry II and Henry VI). Even Mary I was once to be seen nodding approval at a sermon on the primacy of England within the universal Church. Anglicanism, then, is a point of view rather than a sect, and it applies more widely than to religion. Its characteristics are stability, compromise, individualism, relaxation, flexibility, reasonableness. When Mr Johnson is cross with his fellow-countrymen, as he sometimes is, he calls it "constructive hypocrisy" or "mindless common-sense". More generally, he identifies it with Pelagianism.

Mr Johnson's devotion to Pelagius is one of his most entertaining quirks. The name appears in the title of the first chapter, and recurs again and again. William of Ockham and Wyclif were Pelagians; the Reformation was Pelagian; Gladstone and Baldwin were honorary Pelagians; behind all the events in English history "lies the enigmatic, mocking smile of Pelagius"; and to the present day it behoves the "continentalist minority", led by Edward Heath, to reflect that "perhaps the spirit of Pelagius is not yet dead". It seems almost unfair to point out the inconsistency inherent in Mr Johnson's agreeable *penitence*. Pelagius himself was anything but an Englishman. According to some he was a Welshman called

Morgan, according to others (meaning an Irishman) Pelagius, a British, which is true in the sense of the word, meaning Most of his adult life was spent in his native island, where he denied original sin and the influence of free will, and divine grace in procuring salvation. He was just as popular in England. It infected the Church in the East, as well as in France, in the days of Peter Abelard, and even after Pelagius's death, his son's own Pelagianism was certainly condemned in Rome, but they must be regarded as paradoxical as a land.

There is no reason why eccentricity, which is easily tested, should detract from the book, both in entertainment and in instruction. An idiosyncratic point has enabled Mr Johnson to construct a great deal of new history to add to the conventional account of English, or British, or even if the presentation seems occasionally inconsistent and the opinions are sometimes dubious, the book is a valuable contribution to the history of the English mind, though only for the sake of clarity, not of an accommodating framework. That the final chapter, appointing is chiefly due to a splendid promise of the chapters. Mr Johnson was asking himself in the end is happening to his beloved and finding no answer optimistic or pessimistic.

He detests the aristocracy of the working class, the Labour Party is execrable, Labour Party a pathetic failure, a formula for the future, escaping from Europe, liberalism, abolishing clubs and public schools, the flow of pornography, violence, extinguishing power, reforming education. Mr Johnson is not far from committing the fallacy which he detects in earlier generations, that of looking backwards to a golden age. Characteristically, he ends with a quotation from Milton, who calls "the great English people" "new and recovery". But he wants the English to be new and recovery. He argues to take, there is nothing to be achieved only in isolation in Europe.

and more violent action of irresponsible landlords. His best chapters draw a picture of Anglo-Irish social life from the beginning of his book Mr White says that "as the story unfolds it becomes increasingly evident that religious differences were the ultimate dividing line". In fact his story seems to show that religious difference was a fortuitous division between the great landowners and the labourers whom they treated as serfs. The main course of the book is a study of Protestant nationalism from Wolfe Tone and Isaac Burke through Samuel Ferguson and Parnell to the "Irish revival" of Hyde and Lady Gregory. Yeats has been placed out of sequence at the beginning of the book; Mr White shrewdly remarks that when Yeats tried to speak from nationalism to appoint himself a spokesman for ascendancy traditions he was quite unrepresentative. "What he had in common with Swift and Burke was genius."

The economic reformers seem to interest Mr White more closely, particularly Thomas. Prior to the nineteenth century, Drummond is an interloper in this story, for he was a Scottish official in Dublin who tried to teach the landowning peers that they had duties as well as rights. Mr White forgets that Drummond's lecture would have been equally resented by the perpetrators of Scottish clearances or English transportations. Irish evictions were the larger

GRAPHY

## Fainted but prolific

LEAMINGTON:  
*Royal House of Stuart*  
John. Weidenfeld and Nicolson  
£12.60 each.

years after King James came to the throne he is said to have been puzzled by the birth-place of some of Lord Brabourne's children—"Tennis near London"—or by Mr Whitwell, who was born at Nany Brow Rydal and Boughrigg, which suggests that he was born in three places; those who know Wordsworth's country are proud of Loughrigg. But Mr Addington will not mind these comments, which merely show that his book has been read with attentive enjoyment.

The easy-going reader will, of course, pine for an index, though reflection will show that this would have been an impossible task. The persons are grouped in families with a chapter to each family—eleven in the first volume, and eight in the second. Once the reader has mastered that each generation is marked by consecutive Roman numerals in the margin, the pursuit of an individual becomes possible. Bastards are excluded, though it seems that Mr Addington has in mind a further work to include the illegitimate children of Kings Charles II and James II, and all their descendants. An exception is made to this where bastards were legitimized by the subsequent marriage of their parents, though such children, judging by the offspring of one of the Landgraves of Hesse, were not—as were their legitimate brothers—Prinz, but merely Graf.

There are several pockets of information which may stir the imagination of the curious. The present head of the family, who is descended from Charles I, is the Duke of Bavaria, oldest son of the Crown Prince Rupprecht. When the Crown Prince died in 1955, members of the Royal Stuart Society in London went into mourning; the Duke is now no doubt an object of their interest if not of their loyalty. President Kennedy was related to this vast hive of royalty, through his sister-in-law Princess Radziwill, whose husband was distantly connected with an American family called Bloodgood—a name which is perhaps appropriate to the whole enterprise.

Mr Addington rightly eschews anything by way of biographical information, though he does include crossed swords for all those who were killed in battle. He also allows us the explanatory information that Prince Johann Nepomuk Salvator Marle Joseph Johann Ferdinand Balthasar Ludwig Karl Zenobius Antonin, of the Tuscan branch of the Habsburgs, was the mysterious Johann Orli, who is supposed to have died at sea in 1891; in spite of this some will remain mystified why he carried the double John—a duplication which is confirmed by the *Almanach de Gotha*. The long strings of splendid and flamboyant Christian names seem to have fallen on stony ground when their bearers came to marry English people; they seem to have preferred simple names for their English children. For example the daughters of Lord Howard de Walden seem, in their Christian names, to reveal no trace of their Habsburg origins. Nor would the children of Alexander McEwen recall by their Christian names their descent from the Princess of Salm-Salm, and

that afflicted the rest of Europe in the next century. The author of the present text is D. R. Watson, who writes sensibly enough, although he has no first-class biography on which to draw. He argues that Charles's habitual duplicity was justified to himself by divine right. The difficulty was not so much that Charles was a deceiver—few statesmen tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth—but that he was a madman. He lacked the charm and flexibility of his son, the courage of William III, and, of course the greatness of Elizabeth I: he was a third-rate monarch.

As to the text, the general editor is Antonia Fraser, who contributes brief but bright introductions. If she had written all the texts, they might have been brilliant. In this case she justly observes that Charles was "England's most crucial ruler", but less aptly refers to "the pretence of a legal trial". The point is that it was a public trial and a public execution; as the regicide Harrison said, it was not done in a corner but in the light of day for every man to see. Revolutionaries do not usually obey the law (they do not today) and had it not been for this execution England might have suffered from the "bravest of despots".

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The Times of Charles I  
Weidenfeld and Nicolson.  
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## Viewpoint

BY JOHN WILLETT

SEEN FROM a Normandy village, the concerns of English journalism, even what is still laughably called quality journalism, seem remote than ever. In other years we have had the Sundays and the weeklies sent over by our kind London newsmen, but now, except when visitors arrive off the boat with the familiar reading matter stuffed in among their whisky and cigarettes, we leave the whole business at home. I do rather miss the *Hampstead and Highgate Express*, for increasingly I find local news more real and more interesting than the "national" stories, let alone pointless sagas about people like Howard Hughes, or those boring think-pieces that now clog so much of the British press. But nobody else in the household seems to feel the lack of these things, since virtually all that we want to know, from the international news to the times of the tides at Dieppe, can be found, economically expressed, in *Paris-Normandie*, our excellent regional daily, or the bi-weekly *Informations Dieppoises*. When somebody brought along a copy of the *New Statesman* last week it was a positive shock, rather like one's first descent into the underground on returning to London, among all those advertisements for bras.

A similar change of perspective affects our reading. Though some of us have other things to read out of duty, such talk about books as occurs here over the breakfast debris, or on the beach after a picnic lunch, or in the kitchen at night, is about the crime stories which we lend and recommend (or disrecommend)—English, alas, has no word for "désennuyer" (to one another. Under the pretext of wanting to find out about Los Angeles, where I am going for the first time next month, I have been taking a short refresher course of Chandler and Ross Macdonald, but my complaint about them is that their sense of place is so poor: the names flash by like sans-serif signs on a motorway, with none of Simone's (or, so far as non-criminal Los Angeles is concerned, Reynier Banham's) gift for differentiating between them without losing speed. We have been pressed by Gavin Lyall, jogged along by Agatha Christie. Some of our read books we can hardly bear; my friend Jimmy who has just gone off to catch the Paris train was choking his way through Saul Bellow's *Herzog*, whose self-conscious style he found suffocating. Others, of all ages, pore over dog-eared copies of *Flaubert*.

It is amazing how well some of the children's books stand up to repeated re-reading on these summer evenings. So many modern children's books are too flabbily written to be readable aloud, while their illustrations seem directed at wary parents rather than literal-minded kids. But the old ones are often a

revelation. At the moment we have going—read serially, that is, or as part of an optional bedtime repertoire—works by Jules Verne, Beatrix Potter, the brothers Grimm (or rather, the eighteenth-century German collective unconscious), the sisters Power, Andrew Lang, Kipling and Newbolt. The Powers' *Children in History* (1930) is just a little too prettified for the excellence of its basic idea—aspects of the past seen through a real or imaginary child's eyes—and in this respect the Newbolt *Book of the Blue Sea* is better: its boy sailors and their view of the old Navy are much more simply and straightforwardly handled. *The Jungle Book* we read for "Rikki-tikki-tavi," which has become a surefire soporific—perhaps someone like Robert Escarpit will one day isolate the pages and phrases that send children off to sleep in various languages, and show us how the trick is done—but what an amazing muddle that book is, and why did Kipling never try to make an entry of the Mowgli beauty? As for the Grimms, the beauty of so many of the tales is staggering (at least in Edgar Taylor's version of 1823), whose one-volume reprint we have, with the Cruikshank pictures), and the wealth of popular imagination implied there endlessly impressive. I can't understand how people can read the Cinderella story in any other version than this one, with its total lack of pumpkin-mice-fairy-godmother cuteness, not to mention those ghastly Mecca ballroom princesses which the Ladybird school of illustrators fit it out. One of the best things about Grimm is that the modern reader, whether of the British or the Monegasque variety, but far above the ragged ex-soldiers who wander perplexedly through their domains.

When left to myself in this house I always feel the pull of the nineteenth-century writers a lot more strongly than in London: Dickens and Thackeray above all, with an occasional Peacock. Left long enough, I might even bury myself in Goethe, whom I know far too little about. I am not sure why this is: the quietness, perhaps, the lack of evidence of a promechanized way of life (though we are now about the only house in the village that has not got a telly), or even the fact that this is still recognizably the countryside of Flaubert and Maupassant; at the moment, indeed, the *Informations Dieppoises* are serializing *Madame Bovary*. But the result is refreshing: whatever one's commitment to one's own time and the life and works I care most about are certainly those of the past. Fifty years is a pleasure to breathe a climate where writers could work on the grand scale without pretentiousness or myopia.

Admittedly my inclinations are not that way at the moment: instead I am hooked on Simone de Beauvoir's *Les Mandarins*, which I bought in one of the Dieppe bookshops the other day, having never previously read it. But it, too, is ambitious, leisurely and intelligible to a quite unfashionable degree, and the material which it deals with is now a not unimportant part of history. In some ways indeed it seems less modern than our bedtime Jules Verne, *The Tour of the World in Eighty Days* (an anonymous translation published by Richard Edward King, 88 Curtain Road, EC1, with its great exactitude of detail, or *The Pic and the Patty Pan*, whose formal cross-purpose dialogue would have done credit to Tolstoy. This, too, I was fascinated to discover lately from Leslie Linder's companion to the Beatrix Potter oeuvre, is something of a *roman à clef*, full of odd aspects of Sawrey village where Miss Potter lived. Nineteenth-century realism has many mansions.

We are well off for books here, since the greater part of my library is normally in this house. Each time we cross the Channel we lug heavy suitcases full of literature, or stuff crates of it into our car; and not only of literature but of notebooks, paper and carbons (there still being awkward differences of size with French paper, for all its excellence). This has become as much second nature now as bringing a stock of chutney or Marmite. Then friends tend to leave behind their paperbacks (along with the remnants of their cereals, crisps, ready-mixed pudding and assorted medicines, not to mention garments and even false teeth). In Dieppe itself there are three good bookshops in the main street, as well as the local branch of Hachette (more or less comparable to Smiths) and a couple of others away from the centre; their stock seems remarkable for a town of slightly over 30,000 inhabitants, and when I ordered Sanouillet's history of *Dada à Paris* from one of them a few days ago I was told it would take only a week to get. Another great standby has been the London Library, which continues to give its members the usual remarkable service even when they are overseas.

None the less, France is a literate country, far more noticeably so than the United Kingdom. Fewer books are published each year, perhaps, but in part this is due to the ambiguity of the British statistics, which always include an unspecified proportion of American-originated books. And if more books are bought per head here, it is at least partly due to the relative inadequacy of the French library system, if system there is (the Dieppe library, for instance, with its fine collection of books on exploration, its seventeenth-century pamphlets, and its presentation set of Lumière's works signed by the author, is an independent municipal enterprise working on a minimal budget). All the same, it is revealing that one of the petrol companies (called, of

all things, Elf) giving away reputable books at its stations, while the prestige of the Man of Letters in the country is sometimes assumed by his right, is of course something very nice in the character: a remarkable jealousy among educated men. For even more than across people in all kinds of serious jobs who might be perfectly good writers, it seems to respect them for perhaps for their success in doing the often stilling *la famille*. Another reflection is the wide assumption that literature really matters. It is this, stamps Mme de Beauvoir and gives it a kind of seriousness which English rather lack. We are not good, alas, at writing anything larger than the self.

There is even some local ing in Dieppe, notably his French version of Simone de Beauvoir's *Sixty Miles from Home*, which the *Informations Dieppoises* serialized, and then brought out in book form, with one of the nineteenth-century paintings of the harbour on the jacket. Great such publishing is bound up with local bias, it is remarkable much interesting material begging to be made into a book. Richard Cobb, for instance, has done a good deal of work in town archives, was telling me this is one of the places where history in the late eighteenth century is particularly well served by a detailed study, and he course the whole story of Channel exchanges (and the through Dieppe) in the *Harbours of the Channel*, by H. de la Haye, Hachette, 1969, 200 pages, £2.00.

The paintings of various cities, from Honington via the Impressionist right to the present day, would illustrate splendidly coherent album in Newcastle table, while there is a fascinating short account of the ship of the Newhaven-Dieppe line, founded in 1825 (*Dieppe*, from Puddle to the Lindel Publishing Company, Sutton Park Road, Sutton, which shows that more even than one might imagine. This is the kind of Anglo-French cultural festival ought to be such Common Market projects, with such many years ago in this one with the director of the museum and others) is that the historical vision, here of the resources, while the state (who have) have not got to phrase—the sense of place.

There is a degree of honesty in the use of the specific label "historian of science" which makes some historians decidedly uneasy. It takes courage in some quarters to hoist this particular pirate flag, especially in waters sailed by "real" historians, which is to say historians who believe the whole historical globe to be within their competence and jurisdiction. There is something about the subject which leads many of its practitioners even to deny their affiliation. Perhaps there is a feeling that the sciences, even in aggregate, make too narrow a subject, and that the proper study of mankind is, if not Man, Everything. Perhaps, too, it is felt that to show an interest in matters scientific—apart from magic, which cults, or any such hocus pocus which can prove that scientists are ordinary human beings like the rest of us—is to invite a reputation for being in some way untutored. (But an occasional article in *Natural Philosophy*, or *Shelleyan Meteorology*, or *Talmudic Mathematics*, or the like, will work wonders to placate fellow historians, while a medical rant can do no one any harm: for just as Thales proved that

Kings, beasts  
and heroes

Gwyn Jones  
This is an exploration of the story-  
telling art of three famous works of  
literature—the Old English verse  
*Beowulf*, the Welsh prose  
*Myrddin*, and the Norse legend of  
King Hrolf. His discussion of the source  
and nature of the stories  
seems to respect them for  
perhaps for their success in  
doing the often stilling  
*la famille*. Another reflection  
is the wide assumption that  
literature really matters. It is this,  
stamps Mme de Beauvoir and  
gives it a kind of seriousness  
which English rather lack. We  
are not good, alas, at writing  
anything larger than the self.

## Aristotle

*Partibus Animalium I*  
*De Generatione Animalium I*  
Translated and edited by  
M. Balme

*Partibus Animalium I*  
This book sets out his philosophy of  
life, discussing cause, necessity,  
genus and species, definition  
which the *Informations Dieppoises*  
serialized, and then brought  
out in book form, with one of  
the nineteenth-century paintings  
of the harbour on the jacket.  
Great such publishing is bound  
up with local bias, it is remarkable  
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he course the whole story of  
Channel exchanges (and the  
through Dieppe) in the  
*Harbours of the Channel*, by  
H. de la Haye, Hachette, 1969,  
200 pages, £2.00.

The Migration  
of Workers

The United Kingdom and  
the European Community  
R. Böning  
This book examines the  
movement of workers  
from the European Economic  
Community, the present state,  
and the future of the Community  
and both to the legal  
and actual migratory  
process. 29 tables. £3.  
Penguin, 1971, 191 pp.,  
£2.50 (paperback, £1).

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of Human  
Populations

by A. Harrison and  
J. Boyce  
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number of years increasing  
has been given to  
population biology, and  
the study of human  
populations has long been  
one of the most important  
branches of the social structure  
of man. However, practically no  
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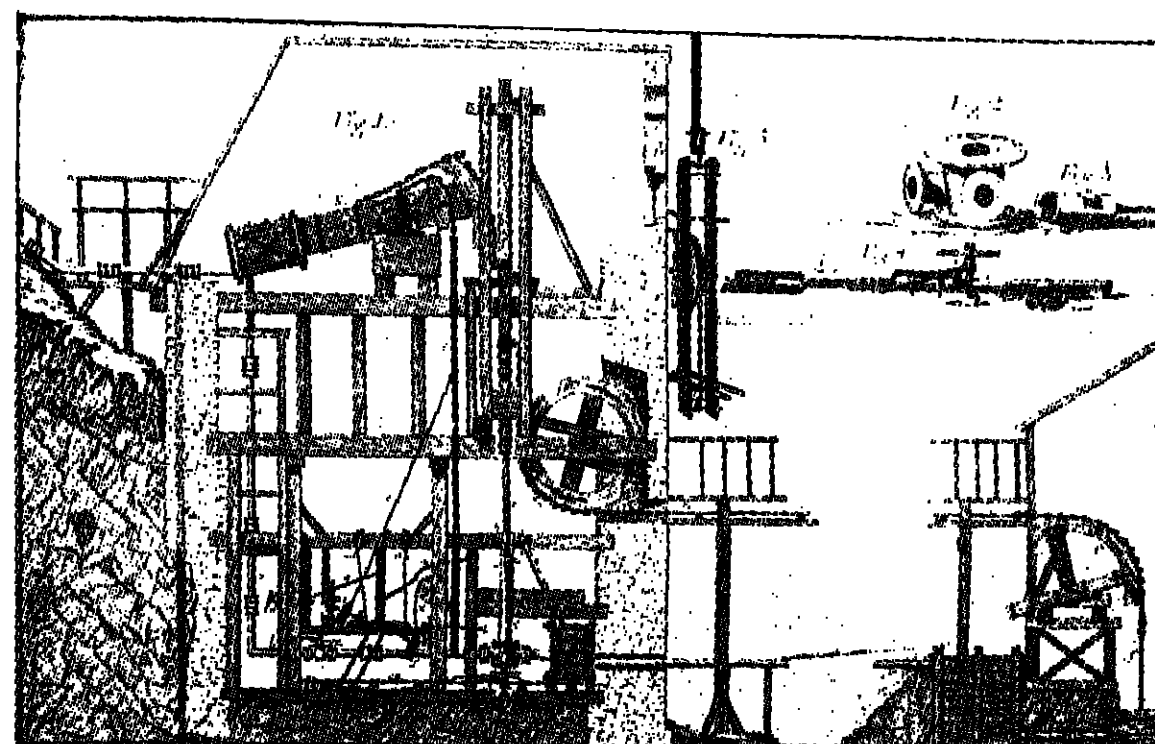
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Column-of-water engine at a mine in Schenitz (Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia). Some features of the mechanism would appear to be adapted from Newcomen engines of the period. Reproduced from Science and Society 1600-1900.

Towards a new history  
of the new science

HISTORY is a mirror in which the clearest reflections are usually those of the historian's own tastes and intellect. Despite the detached few who still speak of "history for its own sake", there are everywhere historians who, not content with doing their own thing, go on insisting that there is really no other valid way of doing it. Classicists see everywhere the ebb and flow of the classical virtues; bishops write of popes; gentlemen, and those with aspirations, find the concept of the gentry indispensable; generals, and such generals *manqués* as Sir Charles Oman, see the past through a cloud of gunsmoke; historians bred on philosophy, when they can tear themselves away from the problem of the meaning of history, treat the past as a battleground of ideas; and so on and so forth. It is neither a new thing, nor should it be surprising, that historians with a scientific cast of mind are wont to select incidents and movements from the past congenial to their own tastes. More surprising is the wide range of attitude within what passes for the history of science, from the isolationists on the one hand to those on the other who wish to be loved by absolutely everyone.

There is a degree of honesty in the use of the specific label "historian of science" which makes some historians decidedly uneasy. It takes courage in some quarters to hoist this particular pirate flag, especially in waters sailed by "real" historians, which is to say historians who believe the whole historical globe to be within their competence and jurisdiction. There is something about the subject which leads many of its practitioners even to deny their affiliation. Perhaps there is a feeling that the sciences, even in aggregate, make too narrow a subject, and that the proper study of mankind is, if not Man, Everything. Perhaps, too, it is felt that to show an interest in matters scientific—apart from magic, which cults, or any such hocus pocus which can prove that scientists are ordinary human beings like the rest of us—is to invite a reputation for being in some way untutored. (But an occasional article in *Natural Philosophy*, or *Shelleyan Meteorology*, or *Talmudic Mathematics*, or the like, will work wonders to placate fellow historians, while a medical rant can do no one any harm: for just as Thales proved that

PETER MATHIAS (Editor):  
*Science and Society 1600-1900*  
166pp. Cambridge University Press.  
£2.80.

W. P. D. WIGHTMAN:  
*Science in a Renaissance Society*  
191 pp. Hutchinson University Library.  
£2.50 (paperback, £1).

ANTONIA MCKEAN:  
*Humanism and the Rise of Science in Tudor England*  
258 pp. Heinemann Educational.  
£3.75.

all is water, the riches being poured into the history of science by the Wellcome Foundation are currently convincing historians that all is medicine.) Or perhaps it is felt that there might be guilt by association: like all branches of history, the history of science has its share of bigots and impostors. Whatever the reason, there is one problem which can seldom be out of the thoughts of the historian of science looking for preferment within the milieu of academic history. How should he divide his time between what is useful to characterize as the "external" and the "internal" relationships of science?

This distinction, to which Peter Mathias refers in the introduction to his *Science and Society*, is rarely well defined, although it is often glibly alluded to. At one extreme are those historians who write only of conceptual developments and—where appropriate—experimental practice, treating its exponents as disembodied minds. A historian of this persuasion might fit from Galen to Harvey or from Einstein to Archimedes, and back, at the drop of a hat, giving the impression that he exercises his chronological sense only under duress. Time is there to preserve the order of events which are for him unaffected by the more vulgar dimensions of history—social, marital, economic, ecclesiastical, demographic, and so on. By many historians he is likely to be taken, oddly enough, for a philosopher, while by philosophers he is looked upon as a fossil hunter.

The other sort of historian, with the "externalist" approach, is conventionally defined as one who hoped (in the words of the introduction) with the "impact of scientific knowledge within its wider historical context", although it might be thought

that the definition covers so many possibilities as to be of little value. (The six contributors to the volume differ far more among themselves in their approach to the "science and society" theme than the best of them differ from the dedicated "internalist".) The idea is to admit all but those who, being content with changing intellectual structures, put themselves in peril of enticement by what Professor Mathias calls "Whiggish, historicist tendencies in the historiography of science", emphasizing, as they are imagined to do, "the steady accretion of knowledge". In fact quite the reverse is true. "Science is a cumulative discipline" is an opinion which was not long ago expressed in a signed article in these columns (May 7, 1970) by Margaret Gowing, Oxford's professor-elect in the history of science, and an "externalist" historian who very modestly admits to not being competent to write a detailed scientific history. Speaking generally, it is those who are least familiar with the details of science who, fixing their gaze on great names and a minimum of central scientific dogma, are most prone to succumb to temptation of the sort mentioned by Professor Mathias.

The six essays in *Science and Society* could hardly be more diverse in style. They were all delivered in Cambridge in 1968. The first, by P. M. Rattansi (now Professor at University College London), is in many ways the most polished, even though it is likely to leave the reader with the impression that the details of seventeenth-century science are among those ineffable or arcane subjects which it is ungentlemanly to mention except, obliquely, R. K. Merton is criticized on the score of his lack of feeling, not only for the social, political and religious history of the seventeenth century, but for its scientific thought, and yet the only science discussed here, and that in the broadest of institutional terms, is a form of Aristotelian world view. The Aristotelian subordination of the particular under the general is contrasted with the occult and revelatory Hermetic approach, which "focused attention on properties specific to each particular thing, preferably on extraordinary and marvellous virtues, or *mirabilia*". Bacon is characterized as one who hoped to transform the conception of an enchanted universe, with man at its centre, and who wished secular and religious knowledge to be divorced.

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# To the Editor

## The Jameses

Sir—Your reviewer of Leon Edel's last volume on Henry James (August 18) follows the biographer in reporting a "singular" incident that shows William James as meanly jealous of his younger brother Henry and petulant in his expression of that envy to a stranger.

This interpretation of William's character, thanks to remote "analysis", is Mr Edel's most original contribution, since it is at variance with all previous accounts.

But it is not against interpretation that I wish to enter a caveat here: it is against the "singular" handling of the document on which the final damning of William is based. That document is a letter in the archives of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, to which I have access. The best way of showing how it has been twisted and garbled in *Henry James*, Volume V, is to reproduce it in full:

To Robert Underwood Johnson  
Secretary of the Academy  
Cambridge  
June 17, 1905

Dear Mr Johnson,  
Just back from three months in Europe, I find your letter of May 16th awaiting me, with the very flattering news of my election into the Academy of Arts and Letters. I owe that this re-reply gives me terrible searchings of the heart.

On the one hand the lust of distinction and the craving to be yoked in one Social body with so many illustrious names tempt me to say "yes". On the other, bidding me say "no", there is my life-long practice of not letting my name figure where there is not some definite work doing in which I am willing to bear a share; and there is my lifelong professional habit of preaching against the world and its vanities.

I am not informed that this Academy has any very definite work out for it of the sort in which I could bear a useful part; and it suggests *tant soit peu* the notion of an organization for the mere purpose of distinguishing certain individuals (with their own connivance) and enabling them to say to the world at large "we are in and you are out".

Ought a preacher against vanities to succumb to such a lure to the very first call? Ought he not rather to "refrain, renounce, abstain", even tho' it seem a sour and ungenial act? On the whole it seems to me that for a philosopher with my pretensions to austerity and righteousness, the only consistent course is to give up this particular vanity, and treat myself as unworthy of the honour, which I assuredly am. And I am the more encouraged to this course by the fact that my younger and shallower and vain brother is already in the Academy, and that if I were there too, the other families represented might think the Jameses influence too rank and strong.

Let me go, then, I pray you, "release me and restore me to the ground". If you know how greatly against the grain these duty-inspired lines are written; you would not deem me unfriendly or ungenial, but only a little cracked.

By the same token, I think that I ought to resign from the Institute (in which I have played so inactive a part) which act I herewith also perform.

Believe me, dear Mr. Johnson, with longing and regret, heretically yours,  
Wm. James

JACQUES BARZUN,  
President, National Institute of Arts and Letters, 632 West 155th Street, New York, NY 10032, USA.

## Literary Debts

Sir—Your correspondence about the unpaid invitations must surely explain why the wretched Harry family were so unsuccessful in their social life. If I remember rightly—

Ms. Harry  
Gave a party.  
No one came.  
Thop her brother  
Gave another.  
Just the same.

I do not know a printed source for this, so I am unable to say whether or not it parallels W. Graham Robertson and Evelyn Waugh.

RICHARD BOSTON,  
12, Hildington Park Street, London N1.

Sir—Concerning Evelyn Waugh's short story "Bella Placida Gave a Party" (1952), and its real-life Irish

sources: your readers may be interested to compare that story with Edith Wharton's "After Heilbrunn" (1928), said to be based on an actual episode (1908) in the life of Mrs Astor. The basic plot of an old lady giving an enormous dinner party to which only one or two unexpected guests come has an almost fair-tale quality: we may surely expect to hear of other, unrelated, true or fictional variants.

P. MERIVALE,  
Department of English, University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, Canada.

## Geoffrey Grigson's Viewpoint

Sir—An experience of dismay should not be shared, but perhaps this one is an exception? A couple of days ago I was checking the '49 claret at the end of my cellar, where it is dark and cool, when the brick floor laid in Queen Elizabeth I's reign opened beside my feet, and a murky hand thrust up a parchment to the accompaniment of flame and sulphurous smoke. I have never known it to happen before, and in this old house, and I was much dismayed. But I caught the parchment and all was over, happily for the Poetel Canet, in a moment.

Returning upstairs, I found the parchment of a type and nature better not described, but fully occupied by a small mechanical handwriting. This appears to refer to Geoffrey Grigson's Viewpoint in your journal (August 25), and though scurrilous in tone and vulgar in origin, may perhaps have an infernal interest. I transcribe it as it stands while begging your distinguished contributor to absolve me of any greater responsibility.

The underlined are members of the Writers' Circle of the Nether Regions, and are glad to get a glimpse now and then, reading your mag., of the B'n't Above where we have never been, and, thank you, Lucifer, can never be. Yet we are not so provincial in our meetings and discussions as this might lead you to expect, and we also have some quite bright blokes among us, such as a funny little German man, lately come down, who calls himself B'n't (we have somehow never got hold of his real name), and they give us talks from time to time. So we know about old Grigson-Lazarus, and we know that he means it all for the best. Only we think he is having you on, and someone ought to say so.

What we mean is that it's a load of old rope, isn't it? The way he puts it, going on about the Literary Scene, may be for fallen angels and other class-traitors they're not liked, by the way, down here) such as this Diver You-Name-Him, always telling us what it was like Up There and what a terrible mistake they made in shoving him out. But for the bulk of us handymen it's just a lot of showing off. Because what would be the difference between the Grigson Mob, judging by what he says, and all the other mobs (mobs if you want)? If anything we would rather have old Gabriel Leavis and his flaming sword, at least you know where you are with him. "Snick smack, oh no you don't, we don't want your sort in here."

Leavis, Eliot, Forster... the last grand last on the trumpet of English middle-class culture? Okay, but does he think we didn't hear them too? "If there were such writers", says old Grigson, all would not be well again. If only the English were not the English, if only the middle class were not the middle classes, if only that he didn't ask us to believe that he is an angel, if they existed, would have anything to say outside their Heaven, any more than the present bunch?

Would they think it any more relevant (we can use those words if we have to) that the bulk of the nation inhabits the Other Place? We're not saying he's wrong about the State of Thelga. Down here below stairs we get a pretty good hang of what goes on, and we can see as well as he can that the final manifestations of English middle-class culture, books and all, are about to vanish for ever into their own fundamental annihilation. But does he really think that you can put back Humphry Dumpty, once he's fallen good and proper?

Seen from down here (we're not complaining) there won't be there can't be any good writing stuff in England until there are writers, and who stand on social reality and speak for it, who stop tucking themselves away and practising between mirrors, who get hold of what happens in the streets and matters in the population,

and make it live in poetry as well as in the other thing. That, if you like, would be to think and act with a proper contemporaneity of the past. Otherwise old Lazarus may comfort old Dives, but that's about as far as it will go. (And knowing old Dives better than you do, we can tell you that it's not very far.)

We know that G. Lazarus has his heart in the right place, and so we send this up in sorrow not in anger. But come off it, Geoffrey, and leave Gabriel L. to deal with all those Mobs; after all, they're his Mobs, and where would he be without them? What you need are angels as different from the last lot, except in genius and courage, as 1972 is different from 1912. If you can't suggest any, then tell us why not, and why the Devil...

Here I break off the transcription, though there is more, much more, because the tone grows ever more violent and vulgar. Obviously it is beneath deserving a reply, but in any case I have to add that I am sealing my cellar floor with concrete so as to prevent any further intrusion. My builder, to whom I have explained this, plainly thinks me mad. But he, of course, knows nothing about the keeping of wine.

BASIL DAVIDSON,  
Shropshire.

Sir—Since Geoffrey Grigson (August 25) appears to disapprove of Scott's desire that Wordsworth conform to the demands of public taste, he could be popular if he would. "He has injured his own fame," Wiggle your tail, Wordsworth, for the public biscuit "one might well ask how he reconciles this with his own wish that the Welsh would wiggle their tails for the public (English) biscuit. It is customary, I think, for parties interested in a foreign literature to learn the appropriate language and then, if so inclined, to trans-

**NEXT WEEK**  
**Art and Emotion—1**  
The first of two special numbers marking the Frankfurt Book Fair. Special articles by Charles Rycroft on the Psychoanalysis of Creativity, Alejo Carpentier on Emotion in Music, and Wolfelrich Rasch on Emotion and Expression.

late from that literature for the enlightenment of others. Mr Grigson wants to avoid the bother: Welsh authors should write in English, and editors of Welsh poets should provide English translations. Do Russians, Czechs, Germans, Japanese and French have to do likewise? Has Mr Grigson ever translated his productions into another language? Would it feel it unreasonable that such a demand be made of him?

Such illogicality of thought may be accounted for in several ways: that Mr Grigson is a mere journalistic hack, "cocky about what he thinks is his own judgment"; that he "is parroting and sharing," a typically English club reaction to Welsh-language literature; or that he is seeking, obliquely, to deflate the pugnacious condescension which pervades his article. The first view is tempting; the second sets him beside Matthew Arnold (who at least had the decency not to expect Homer to translate himself), while the third, surely supported by the laughable equation of Mr Grigson with "sano Alexander Pope", would seem to be the most charitable.

ROGER STEPHENS JONES,  
Carlton University, Ottawa, Canada.

## Dickens Texts

Sir—I have only now seen your reviewer's on the whole very generous comments on three Dickens titles in the Penguin English Library (August 11).

The part from supporting the remarks of Dr Goldman and Dr Whitely (August 18) on the undesirable of such recent textual uniformity at your reviewer seems to prefer, might I make two minor points in clarification of Penguin policy? The first is no "Penguin Dickens", there is instead a Penguin English Library in which all of the novels of Dickens will, before long, have appeared. A fine distinction, but one that perhaps goes some way towards explaining why inconsistency as there is. So far as the text and textual apparatus are concerned, the aims of the series are modest: we did not intend to compete with the "Clarendon" edition, which we have not found it easy, or indeed practically desirable, to resist the desire of some editors to exceed our fairly modest requirements.

In the context of what is now a very large series, inconsistency of the kind that exceeds the norm seems at any rate more desirable than the other kind.

JAMES COCHRANE,  
Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.

Sir—Your reviewer (August 25), attempting to rectify his original misleading statement about the Penguin *American Notes*, has fallen into another error. When he agrees that he "should have added that Andrew Lang's *Gladstone* Edition, from which it was set, was based on the 1842 text" he shows himself ignorant that the Gladstone Edition is (as it says opposite the title-page) a reprint of Dickens's 1868 text.

The reason for using the Gladstone Edition's help in deciding on punctuation, capitalization and spelling is that those features of the 1842, 1850 and 1868 editions, being significantly different from Dickens's manuscript, were largely determined by Chapman and his printers. Moreover, both the manuscript and those editions by erratic in their usages. In a new edition which is neither a facsimile nor a "modernized" text, it seemed worth referring to the nationalizing practice of a Victorian editor.

Your reviewer has a better point about the perils of working with a reprint as copy-text. But, given the editorial principles described in the Note on the Text and in the letter of August 18, and as it is important to present the printer with as clean and legible a text as possible, we judged it worth the risk, which we hoped to minimize by extensive collations, to use an amended Gladstone 1842 rather than an amended poorly printed 1868 edition. Whatever may be the case with Dickens's revisions of his novels, it is not very debatable to say of this work of reprintage that 1842 is a better basic text than one offering the minor if interesting changes of eight and twenty-six years later. To call 1842 "first thoughts" is merely rhetoric. My co-editor being at present on his own American trip, I reply with his permission but on my own responsibility.

ARNOLD GOLDMAN,  
The University of Sussex, BN1 Building, Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9QN.

## Penis and Phallus

Sir—Although the reviewer of *Gimco's Customs: History of My Life* (September 1) uses the terms "penis" and "phallus" synonymously, the *Oxford English Dictionary* makes a clear distinction between them. The former is "the intrinsically or symbolically organ of any male animal". The latter is "an image of the male generative organ, symbolizing the generative power in nature, venerated in various religious systems; spec. that carried in solemn procession in Dionysiac festivals in ancient Greece".

The use of "phallus" to mean "penis" has, it is true, become commonplace. Recently, for instance, a distinguished British scholar wrote that, in the ordinary act of intercourse, "the male inserts a phallus into the female vagina". For a newcomer to English who turned to the *OED* for a definition of these words, such a statement could have quite embarrassing consequences.

I would argue, therefore, that the distinction between a representation of the male organ and the organ itself is still a useful one. Through you, I enter a plea for its preservation.

L. R. HIATT,  
Churchill College, Cambridge, CB3 0DS.

## 'The Politics of Reform'

Sir—Your reviewer of *The Politics of Reform 1884* (August 25) is right: after Edward Hamilton's hymnal, my book cannot make for "easy" reading. The imposition was, perhaps, altogether too much for him: quotations, inviolable from the first two or three pages of the book or from an appendix to it, the inclusion? But your reviewer professes conversancy with my Cambridge dissertation (of course to make the point that PhD theses ought to be rewritten before ever they appear in print) while failing to notice the revision that has in fact been undertaken. I confess that I never had it in mind to produce matter fit for his bedside table.

Where my style is not obscure or vulgar, my manner is appalling. Unfathomable, apparently, is the American professor (a woman) whose writing found favour with an editor of the *English Review*, beyond academic criticism it has no other value. I repeat the apology which your reviewer who lingers upon bare phrases, chose to overlook: "If the point is made with a style which is not obscure or vulgar, my manner is appalling. Unfathomable, apparently, is the American professor (a woman) whose writing found favour with an editor of the *English Review*, beyond academic criticism it has no other value. I repeat the apology which your reviewer who lingers upon bare phrases, chose to overlook: "If the point is made with a style which is not obscure or vulgar, my manner is appalling. Unfathomable, apparently, is the American professor (a woman) whose writing found favour with an editor of the *English Review*, beyond academic criticism it has no other value. 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# Churchill from the front

chill off where necessary. The communications are frequently characterized by the "Reactions to the Rudolf Hess affair" which make the public doubtful whether it is "reading about Hitler's right-hand man or Garry Cooper".

And when Germany attacks the "Russians she listens in vain to hear the "Internationale" played with the other friendly anthems, and imagines himself a vicar faltering a little as he leads his flock in prayer for the Allies.

Throughout we get the clear message that her loyalty is not to government but to "the great, patient, courageous mass of British people". Even then she serves best by keeping cool, performing her reporter's distance, getting just close enough to record accurately what people do and say. "That's in that's a little odd lovely head"!

And most says on it very, excitingly, "I wish Hitler is dead."

Of remark people make when a wireless phone is applied against their throats



11-25-50



# Perennial victims of popular oppression

PAUL LENDVAI:  
Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe  
393pp. Macdonald, £1.50.  
CHRISTIAN JELEN:  
La Purge  
222pp. Paris: Fayard, 25fr.

The year 1968 was one of Europe's revolutionary years. The upheavals were not as ubiquitous as in 1848, but they were as unsuccessful: everywhere the forces of law and order re-imposed control. One of the weapons used to suppress revolution was antisemitism. The bourgeois mob on the Champs-Élysées yelling, "Cohn-Bendit to Auschwitz!", the antisemitic libels which prominent Czechoslovak reformers like Emanuel Goldfinger were subjected to, and the vicious antisemitic campaign unleashed in Poland which reduced Poland's tiny Jewish population of about 25,000 to something less than 10,000 within a year—all these belong to a pattern of antisemitic action which is nearly as old as Christianity. Paul Lendvai stresses this antisemitic heritage of Christianity. The Jews are regarded by both the Catholics and Orthodox as deicides who deserve misfortune and exile. This prejudice has continued to the present day, and Mr Lendvai has even found an article in *Kommunist* of August 9, 1960, where the Jews are accused of drinking Muslim blood for ritual purposes. In this as in so many other ways, modern communists have inherited the old prejudices of Christians.

In many countries the solution of the Jewish question was sought by the extermination of the Jews. Medieval Christianity was in any case intolerant of religious and political dissent. Throughout the ages the radical solution of killing the Jews and expelling the survivors has been practised. It is sometimes stated that it was only the Nazis who refused to allow any escape from Judaism by conversion, but in fact there are many examples that conversion did not prevent safety, as for instance in Spain in the sixteenth century.

It would be tempting to relate the ebb and flow of antisemitic policies to the role of Jews in economic life, but there seems to be no correlation. Jews were expelled and persecuted even at times when they played no important economic role. One could, however, make a correlation between the political conditions or crises and

the treatment of Jews. This, as Christian Jelen shows, is what happened in Poland. A leadership crisis degenerated into a "chasse au juif". At times of revolution and upheaval it was the Jews who became the butt of popular and official anger. Mr Lendvai points out that in 1956 many Hungarian Jews "preferred any order rather than the opening of all safety valves", though they, like other Hungarians, had suffered privation and persecution at the hands of Rikosi, who was himself Jewish. They knew from bitter experience that the Jews were the first to suffer in such a situation. (Mr Lendvai explains why they did not do so in 1956.)

This role of Jews as scapegoats has been particularly evident in the past 100 years. Antisemitism is a cheap and effective means of mobilizing support. The idea of the Jews as international conspirators seeking to rule the world has a history which goes back as far as the French Revolution; its best-known exposition is, of course the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. A recent gem of this conspiracy theory appears in a Russian book published in 1970 in which it is stated that the Czechoslovak reformers of 1968 were directly financed by the French Rothschilds through a bank account in Tel-Aviv. Another is the circulation given by the Polish press and radio to the story that Moshe Dayan is really SS General Otto Skorzeny.

Many people were astonished at the antisemitic campaign unleashed in Poland in January, 1968, which is described very clearly in *La Purge*. The "Jewish element in communism" is well known. Marx was a Jew; Trotsky was a Jew; Rosa Luxemburg was a Jew; one of Stalin's wives was Jewish, and so is his wife of Gomulka. A joke circulated in Hungary after the Second World War explained the presence of one Gentile in the Politburo on the grounds that there must be someone available to sign decrees on Saturday. Marxists themselves maintained that Jews, being persecuted and often homeless, were in much the same position as the proletariat, and no doubt the adherence of many Jews to socialist and communist parties was due to this fact.

Yet there is another side to the supposed pro-semitism of socialism. Fourier, Proudhon and Bakunin were well known for antisemitic outbursts.

The New Left is anti-Zionist, and, as the Russian and East European experience has shown, it is difficult and perhaps impossible to distinguish antisemitism from anti-Zionism. Anti-Israelism, if one may coin such a term, could be distinguished from antisemitism, but it is interesting to note that no one uses the term, presumably showing an unwillingness to separate the Jew from the Zionist and the Israeli.

It might have been supposed that the Soviet Union, with its stress on the equality of nationalities, would find a way of solving the Jewish question by assimilation. For a number of reasons this did not take place. The Jews in the Soviet Union, although possessing only the nominal national territory of Birobidjan, were given the status of full nationality. This status was fortified by the introduction of the single passport system in December, 1932, which stated the holder's nationality. This put the Jews at a considerable disadvantage because they were one of the few nationalities—though not the only one—which were dispersed. Hence many of the legal rights possessed by other nationalities—especially in the field of language, education and culture—were eventually denied to them. The Jews were also one of the few nationalities—though again not the only one—which had links with the outside world, and such links became more unwelcome to the Soviet state with the creation of Israel.

Anyway, Marxists have never really recognized the claims of nationality. Lenin put it simply: "A struggle against any national oppression—unreservedly yes. A struggle on behalf of any national development, of 'national culture' in general—unreservedly no." So far as religion was concerned, an atheistic doctrine and state fought all religions. Hence the Jews were attacked as a religion, as a nationality, and—in the guise of Bundists and Zionists—as a bourgeois nationalist movement.

In consolidating his power, Stalin removed from positions of influence virtually the whole generation of those who had made the Bolshevik Revolution and built the Soviet state. These included many Jews, and they were hardly ever replaced by other Jews. The satellite regimes initiated the Russian example. The traditional antisemitism of Russia and Eastern

Europe makes any move against the Jews popular. It is such an atmosphere which makes possible the publication of antisemitic books and articles which would not have disgraced the Nazis.

The satellites did not recognize the Jews as a nationality, and indeed in many ways helped them to assimilate successfully. The value of Mr Lendvai's book lies precisely in his treatment of the different problems of the satellites. All the communist regimes in Eastern Europe used Jews extensively because they could be used to show no mercy to Nazis, Fascists and other collaborators with the Axis, and also because they could be easily dispensed with when convenient. Paradoxically, the large numbers of Nazi and Fascist collaborators could be used in much the same way. The Jews, who included many middle-class and westernized people, were hit harder by the later purges than other sections of the population. As Mr Lendvai writes:

The crucial point was that the prominence of Jews among both the victims and the rulers gave impetus to the resurgence of old anti-Semitism among the destitute former middle class and petty bourgeoisie and simultaneously the emergence of a "new" anti-Semitism in the ranks of the Party apparatus and government bureaucracy.

Both Mr Lendvai and Mr Jelen attempt to explain antisemitism in regional terms, and do not deal at all extensively with Russian policy in the Middle East and the effect this has had on the position of the Jews in Eastern Europe. Again, it is not easy to draw any precise correlation: an anti-Israeli policy externally does not necessarily mean an anti-Jewish policy internally. Indeed, when the Soviet Union recognized the state of Israel in 1948 and Israeli troops armed with Czech weapons were fighting in the first war against the Arab states, Stalin was busy persecuting his own Jews. No doubt he reasoned that in the circumstances international Jewry was not likely to protest. The satellites always tended to lag a little behind Russia. Yet by 1950 the antisemitic aspects of the impending purge in Czechoslovakia were already being prepared; it was in that year that two Israeli citizens were arrested in Prague. Even so, it is very difficult to discern an overtly pro-Arab Russian policy before 1954. After 1956 the connexion between Is-

rael and the Jews in Russia, and again in 1967, Arabism and supported by the powers were defeated by Jews. It is possible to be indifferent to the Jewish question and a rhetorical question:

In these circumstances the doubts about the loyalty of Jewish populations. They—did not possess the same qualities as Walpole's supporter; neither in florid impudence he speaks, as the Prompter breathes, the puppet squeaks. It really ties into one triplet Hervey's next verse and flagrant mannerisms: "We all see-saw between that and this, now high, now low, now Master up, now Miss, now Antithesis, now his own antithesis, so expertly de-vised, continue into the final, damning couplet:

That shocks you, Paris that none will trust, that can creep, and Pride that licks the dust. The couplets click into place with language finally: one feels that the world is being nailed to the wall of time and history for eternity. The reader must also remember that implied by the name Sporus, who was an Emperor Nero caused the emperor, and then married and as a wife. Many portraits in Sporus's gallery are composite characters or represent persons whose identity is uncertain, but not Sporus; on the moment of the poem's publication Sporus was recognized as an agent of John, Lord Hervey.

Compared with other literary works of his century, Pope and Hervey, for example—Hervey has been far more from the disparity of image and man. The lives of these two other two are so well known and their satiric adventures so clumsy that the image of their satiric images on the other hand is negligible; Hervey's life and writings are so well known and the Sporus-ism is so widely appreciated that the image has blotted out the man.

In order to understand this phenomenon we must trace the development of Hervey as a satiric persona to its precise beginning in 1731 when Pope's apotheosis of it exactly ten years later; and we can then see the image created by Pope has been applied to our own day; and finally we can confront that image with the

man—the man was born in London on October 15, 1696, after what an anxious father described as "a most perilous labor" of almost sixteen hours. The prototype of Sporus was born in a prose pamphlet on January 22, 1731; its sole parent was William Pulteney, MP. Leader of the Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, Hervey had formerly been a friend of Pulteney, a frequent informal guest in his house; but Pulteney had tried to enlist him in the Opposition the young MP in 1726, on remaining attached to the Chamberlain to the King's household, and he confirmed his loyalty to the Ministry by his speeches in the Commons as well as by his

eloquence. Hervey was so incensed by Pulteney's personal attack that he challenged him to a duel, and suffered a few slight wounds. Hervey as a duelist—naturally an effeminate, cowardly one: this became a popular theme for the swarming satirists, especially since it could be overtly political because his "an-

delicate Hermaphrodite (i.e. homosexual) . . . a pretty little Mister Miss"; that as a writer and wit he was ludicrous; and that he was Walpole's minion ("a Circulator of Title-Tattle, a Bearer of Tales, a Teller of Fibs, a station'd Spy"). What lay behind Pulteney's attack? Was he using the kind of satire that Pope justified as: . . . sacred Weapon left for Truth's defence Sole Dread of Folly, Vice, and Insolence? His motive was simpler and less exalted: he wished to discredit in any way he could Walpole's best political pamphleteer.

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## TRYAL OF SKILL

Between a

Court LORD, and a Twickenham SQUIRE

Inscrib'd to Mr. POPE.

But can your Arm a Weapon lift,  
To haile P—ney, P—pe, or S—t?  
In an ill Hour the Task you chole,  
Besp—d in Rhime, be—t in Prose:  
Tis All the Second of the Farc,  
Tis as you duell'd, you write Verse;  
A vamps'd Hero in the Field,  
And on Parnassus forc'd to yield:  
Let P—pe or P—ney be the Man,  
You quit your Sword, or drop your Pen.



L O N D O N :

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The title page of *A Tryal of Skill*, an anonymous verse satire published in 1734. The duellists shown are Pope (on the left), who has a quill pen balanced on his sword, and Hervey, whose sword, a fox dressed in a man's clothes, represents Henry Fox (later the first Lord Holland) who was Hervey's second in his actual duel which was with William Pulteney in 1731. Pope's words are "You write! You Sh—t—t", and Hervey's "With foul Disgrace—He daubs my face". By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

# Sporus, or Lord Hervey

BY ROBERT HALSBAND

"delicate Hermaphrodite (i.e. homosexual) . . . a pretty little Mister Miss"; that as a writer and wit he was ludicrous; and that he was Walpole's minion ("a Circulator of Title-Tattle, a Bearer of Tales, a Teller of Fibs, a station'd Spy"). What lay behind Pulteney's attack? Was he using the kind of satire that Pope justified as: . . . sacred Weapon left for Truth's defence Sole Dread of Folly, Vice, and Insolence? His motive was simpler and less exalted: he wished to discredit in any way he could Walpole's best political pamphleteer.

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had already been exploited by previous satirists. Even his inspired metaphor of Sporus as Eve's tempter, with "A cherub's face, a Reptile all the rest", had been prefigured in a satire that satirized Hervey with the phrase "from Scripture": "Every Cherub hath new Faces." The profusion and virulence of all these satires, in manuscript and in print, seems astonishing.

Why, one may wonder, did Hervey receive such an enormous amount of attention after 1730; he had by then been a conspicuous habitué of the Court for about ten years, with presumably just as contemptible a character and just as ridiculous a personality? The answer is that his political functions as pamphleteer, as ministerial supporter in Parliament, and as Walpole's emissary to Queen Caroline were enough to set him up as the target of the Opposition writers, of their followers and sympathizers (Pope and Henry Fielding among them), and of the Grub Street hackwriters who skulked about like hungry jackals in search of scraps of scandal.

Between the publication of Sporus and Hervey's death eight years later the satire mills continued to grind out their abuse. A new flurry of attention followed the obsequious dedication to him of Conyers Middleton's life of Cicero. Fielding ridiculed him for it in his dedication to *Shamela*; and then—borrowing the older Herveyesque satire motifs—caricatured him in *Joseph Andrews* as Beau Didapper, a ridiculously effeminate and cowardly coxcomb, a dangle after women, who pursues Joseph's virtuous young heroine. Fielding also glanced at Hervey's political role: Beau Didapper is a dependent of the "Great-Man" (Walpole), who demands his obedience and treats him with contempt. By ironic coincidence the novel was published at the precise moment that Walpole fell from power. Elsewhere Hervey was then chided for his loyalty to the fallen prime minister; and after his own dismissal from office, for his disloyalty to the King. Only a year later (in 1743) Hervey the man died: Sporus the image lived on.

In its later existence the Sporus image appealed to a varied succession of writers. John Cleland, two years after Fanny Hill's advent assigned to Hervey a part in his *Memoirs of a Coxcomb* as Lord Ter-sillon, who is a frivolous courtier with the affected gravity of a statesman. A century later, William Thackeray recreated—in his *Four Georges*—a melodramatic image of Hervey, "with his deadly smile, and ghastly, painted face . . . [he] had something diabolical about him". The "terrible" verse that Pope wrote about him, Thackeray continued, "in one of his own moods of almost fiendish malignity, I fear are true. I am frightened as I look back into the past, and fancy I behold that ghastly, beautiful face." And, finally, in our own day Edith Sitwell wrote: "Lord Hervey . . . is impaled for ever in the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* by the name of Sporus, in one of the most tremendous passages in all Pope's poetry . . . [Hervey's] enemy has given him, not death, but immortality." The image of Sporus, in other words, has replaced the man; and Miss Sitwell proved it by defining the man through the image: "The lines have a dirty fluttering sound, to suit the dirty fluttering thing they portray."

This, then, is the "image" that confronts Hervey's biographer; and he must measure it against what is factually ascertainable. Let us, to begin with, examine a trivial detail in the Sporus portrait to judge its historical accuracy—his being "dirty", the adjective so eagerly embraced by Edith Sitwell. While still in his twenties Hervey became a disciple of Dr George Cheyne, the famous physician of Bath, who generally prescribed daily bathing as part of his regimen. In Hervey's own account of his health, written for the use of his children, this is what he says:

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While it is notorious that tragedies are generally ill-organized, this is by no means an invariable rule, and the greatest European crime of the twentieth century—namely the destruction by Nazi Germany of the Jewish communities that fell within its power—is an exception. The spoliation of the Jews was recorded in deliberate and painful detail; almost up to the very end the disposal of the meagre personal effects of the countless thousands who went to their death in the extermination camps was maintained with Teutonic

thoroughness: these sombre records were preserved and were of value in the onerous task of restitution.

Twenty-five years ago, when the work began, the whole concept seemed improbable. Germany was in ruins, and of the four occupying powers, Russia for one was not prepared to countenance any activity of the sort in the zone under its control. (This attitude of non-cooperation has been inherited by the East German government.) In the British zone Ernest Bevin as Foreign Secretary was nervous of such suits as might be recuperated finding their way to Jewish Palestine, and no authorization for the setting up of restitution activity on an organized basis in the British zone was obtainable until Herbert Morrison succeeded him. Establishing the claims of the survivors of the holocaust or their near relatives was a finite task, and granted man-power and good will would obviously capable of eventual solution in terms of material possessions once confiscated and now to be restored. Of course, such a programme would depend on Germany's success in rehabilitating herself economically and being willing to take responsibility for the restoration to her former citizens of the possessions, fished from them or their parents, but on reflection the American and British Jewish relief organizations considered this a risk worth taking.

Far more problematical was the

issue raised by the existence all over Germany of properties described as "heirless and unclaimed": it was regarded as intolerable that these should fall into the hands of the German state merely because there was no one left to reclaim them. Of course other people besides Jews were murdered by the Nazis, but unlike the Jews they were usually survived by heirs and descendants so that in practice the sorting out of heirless and unclaimed property became a specifically Jewish responsibility.

In the American zone the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization was formed in 1947 and went into operation in August, 1948; similar action in respect of the British zone was delayed until 1950, and in respect of the French zone it was delayed until 1952 because French law did not provide for the creation of a successor organization as such, and after much consultation it was decided that these activities had better be carried on in the name of a specially created and autonomous French branch of the Jewish Trust Corporation. Charles Kapralik's two volumes tell the history of the Jewish Trust Corporation from its inception until now.

The difficulties were manifold. First, the Restitution agencies were set up under Allied auspices and there was no guarantee that the German Federal Republic (which came into existence under the Treaty of Paris in 1953) would do more than form-

ally recognize them once the occupation was over. This fear at least was dispipated by Chancellor Adenauer who accepted (and in so doing was supported by the Federal and Länder governments) the obligation of restitution as a necessary concomitant of statehood. Secondly, there was the problem of assembling from hand registries and other sources particulars of the properties in question, many of them still in ruins. Then it was necessary to come to terms with the surviving representatives of the former important Jewish communities in Germany. Lastly, as the work progressed and its success became more widely known, a large number of what were termed "equity claimants" appeared: these were relatives of those who had perished and who although strictly out of time in lodging their claims were still in equity entitled to a share of the sums recuperated.

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served the Nazi regime was largely valuable: in some cases very same officials who had part in recording the expropriation lent a hand in securing these things twenty years by the Trust Corporation (which French branch) is about a million (nearly £20 million) of two-thirds had been allocated to charitable purposes outside Germany, about one-sixth to the communities now in Germany, and the rest to the equity claimants above; a bare 7 per cent gone in administrative, legal and legal fees.

It would not be strictly true that Dr Kapralik's book is a unique achievement, since the 1790 restored to the German former owners property that was lost in 1899 and 1910, the complexity and scope of the operations here depicted are unique for our time. The book—deeply researched and illustrated—will need to be read by all interested in the Jewish Federal Republic. The devotion of a handful of Jews of German origin who hesitated in 1950 to return to their efforts might commend their efforts to the mitigation of patriots' distresses. In this Dr Kapralik stands alone.

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£2,002-£2,525

or  
£1,662-£2,002

Candidates should be graduates with professional qualifications.

Relevant experience will be an advantage.

Applications and applications are available from:-



The Establishment Officer  
Ulster College, The Northern Ireland Polytechnic, Jordanstown  
Newtownabbey, Co. Antrim

## SENIOR ASSISTANT HOSPITAL LIBRARIES

£1,908-£2,205 (AP.3)

Applicants should have passed the L.A. Part II examination. Hospital Library experience and ability to drive an advantage.

Application form and job description from Borough Librarian and Curator, Greenwich Library, Woolwich Road, SE10 0RL. Closing date: 22nd September.

Libraries Department

LONDON BOROUGH OF GREENWICH

## Sales and Marketing Executive

This company is now embarking upon a publication programme of a much more general nature than previously. The company has Editorial and Design departments as well as its own printing and binding facilities. We are looking for a man about 30 with a sound knowledge of publishing and a keen interest in the book trade, who would like to join a company that is new and forward-thinking and where his knowledge would help to create a new dimension for this organization. The company is situated in a pleasant part of the country, 60 miles north of London. The company employs 250 people in modern offices and factory. Conditions of employment are good and salary ranges from £2,300 and £3,000 p.a. depending upon age and experience. A car will be provided. Please apply in writing to: C. J. E. Wignate, Managing Director, Photo Precision Ltd, Caxton Road, St. Leonards, East Sussex, TN37 4LS.

## Assistant Information Officer/Librarian

The Librarian is responsible to the Information Officer for the day-to-day running of the Association's expanding library, serving the research staff of about 60 people, and over 400 member firms.

The broad scope of the work calls for a qualified librarian with a scientific or technical background, preferably a graduate able to deal with technical enquiries. Commencing salary not less than £2,000 p.a. depending on age and experience with prospects of promotion.

Salary reviewed annually.

Contributory pension scheme. We are situated at Bracknell in pleasant countryside surroundings within easy reach of London. Possibility of New Town housing for rent or purchase.

Please write or telephone for application form and further details to: The Secretary,



HEATING & VENTILATING RESEARCH ASSOCIATION  
Old Bracknell Lane, Bracknell,  
Bucks. RG12 4AH  
Tel.: Bracknell 25071

## Librarian

The Economics Department of the

### INTERNATIONAL WOOL SECRETARIAT

In London requires a qualified librarian to run a small library and information service concerned with agricultural economic, textile and statistical material.

Salary will depend upon qualifications and experience. The IWS operates an attractive policy for pensions, life insurance and other benefits.

Write giving personal and professional details by 22nd September, 1972 to:



The Manager,  
Economics (Information) Section,  
International Wool Secretariat,  
Wool House,  
6 & 7, Carlton Gardens,  
London, SW1Y 5AE.

## Deputy Academic Librarian

Sheffield City College of Education

Applications are invited from qualified librarians for the post of Deputy Academic Librarian at this large co-educational College.

The College is involved in various aspects of professional training and has increasing commitments to honours degree and postgraduate professional courses.

The salary will be on the Senior Lecturer's scale £2,800-£3,285 per annum. The appointment will take effect from 1st January, 1973.

Further particulars and application forms from the Principal (A.S.), 38 Collegiate Crescent, Sheffield S10 2SP to whom they should be returned by 29th September 1972.

## County Borough of TEESIDE

DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND RECREATION

## CHIEF LIBRARIAN

£3,903-£4,389

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for the post of Chief Librarian, shortly becoming vacant through retirement.

The Libraries Department is one of six services within the purview of the Council's Recreational Committee, administering a total net budget of £2,500,000, whose policies and activities are co-ordinated by the Director of Arts and Recreation, under whom the person appointed will be required to work, in close co-operation with other Service Heads.

Applicants must be experienced in the management and control of a progressive library service and be capable of formulating and implementing a development programme for a large Authority (population exceeding 400,000) with a wide range of library activities.

The person appointed will be responsible for the organisation and administration of a library service created in 1988 by the amalgamation of the former Middlesbrough, Stockton, Thornaby, Billingham, Redcar and Easington Authorities, consisting of a central library, 2 large new district libraries and 23 full-time branch libraries, a staff of 212 and which has an annual budget of over £500,000.

General Local Government conditions of service apply.

Applications, stating the names of two referees, should be submitted to the Director of Arts and Recreation, Sun Alliance House, 16-26 Albert Road, Middlesbrough, Teesside, by 21st September, 1972.

### West Sussex County Library

## Senior Sub-Branch Librarian (Team Leader) Western Region

Salary in the range £2,100-£2,475 per annum

Initially to develop the service in Petworth, where a new library will be opening in the autumn, and afterwards to lead a team responsible for sub-branches at Arundel, Bognor Regis and Southbourne (modern libraries) and the Willingdale (building commencing shortly) in addition to Petworth.

Generous lodging, removal and resettlement allowances in approved areas.

Further details and application form obtainable from County Librarian, Tower Street, Chichester, Sussex, returnable by 29th September, 1972. Please quote ref 880.



The Western Australian Institute of Technology

### Library

#### Academic and Professional Appointments

Senior Librarian (\$A9,642-\$A11,294)

Librarians (\$A8,799-\$A9,390)

Professional Library Officers (Grade I \$A9,534-\$A10,159) (Grade II \$A4,943-\$A6,340)

Posts are available in Reader Education, Reference and Circulation, Acquisitions, Cataloguing, Systems Development and Branch Libraries at Murdoch and Kalgoorlie.

Appointments at Senior Librarian or Librarian level will head major sections or be Senior Subject Specialists. They must be experienced qualified graduate librarians.

Professional Library Officers will fill supporting posts and applications for these positions from graduates or experienced non-graduates will be considered. Superannuation is available after a qualifying period. When filling posts, preference will be given to holders of a postgraduate degree. Further details and method of application from Agent General, Western Australia House, 116 Strand, London WC2R 0AJ. Applications please 8 October, 1972.